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Understanding Masculinities and Change

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**Gesundheitstrends bei jungen Menschen
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Auswirkungen veränderter sozialer Bedingungen

Sowohl die Gesundheitsrisiken – Verkehrsunfälle, Alkohol-, Tabak- und Drogenkonsum sowie Aids – als auch das Spektrum der Erkrankungen im Jugendalter – von Allergien bis zu Infektionen – lassen auf einen Handlungsbedarf schließen, der innerhalb nationaler Grenzen nicht angemessen umgesetzt werden kann. Eine wichtige Voraussetzung für europaweite präventive Maßnahmen ist die gemeinschaftliche Berichterstattung über den Gesundheitsstatus der jungen EU-Bürger.

Heike Ettischer

Was Jugendlichen gut tut 20

Bundesweite Aufklärungsstrategien zur Gesundheitsförderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen

Die Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung (BZgA) führt langfristige Kampagnen durch, in deren Mittelpunkt Kinder und Jugendliche stehen. Wie eng Konzeption, Durchführung und Weiterentwicklung dieser Aufklärungskampagnen mit qualitätssichernden Methoden begleitet und überprüft werden, wird an Beispielen der Suchtvorbeugung, der Aidsprävention und der Sexuaufklärung erläutert.

Marco Puxi

Suchtvorbeugung und Selbsthilfe 30

Kinder von alkohol- bzw. drogenabhängigen Eltern – ein familienpolitisches Modellprojekt

In Deutschland wachsen fast vier Millionen Kinder und Jugendliche in Familien mit einer Suchtproblematik auf. Die individuellen Beeinträchtigungen für die Persönlichkeitsentwicklung dieser Kinder werden bislang weder ausreichend diskutiert, noch sehen die sozialen Dienste entsprechende Hilfsmöglichkeiten hierfür vor. Nun liegen die Erfahrungen eines Modellversuchs präventiver Suchtarbeit mit Kindern und Jugendlichen vor.

Ralf Sygusch

Gut drauf durch Sport?

40

Geschlechtsspezifisches Erleben von Körper und Gesundheit sportlich aktiver Jugendlicher

Frauen und Männer schätzen ihre Gesundheit ganz verschieden ein und je nach der Art ihrer sportlichen Betätigung. Bei vielen männlichen körper-expressiven Individualsportlern herrscht statt bewußtem Gesundheits-handeln eher Sorglosigkeit vor: Solange die sportliche Leistungsfähigkeit nicht beeinträchtigt ist, werden Gesundheitsrisiken bagatellisiert. Dies ist eines der Ergebnisse einer Sekundärauswertung der NRW-Jugend-sportstudie. Antworten darauf gibt eine empirische Studie.

interview

Gewalt und Medien

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Interview mit Helga Theunert

Wir müssen uns auf immer mehr Gewaltdarstellungen in den Medien einstellen. Das kommerzielle Fernsehen und die Hersteller von Computerspielen verdienen damit viel Geld. Aber in dieser Welt geschehen noch schlimmere Dinge, als die Horrorautoren sich ausdenken können. Verbote nützen nichts – man muß den Kindern die Ursachen der Gewalt erklären und ihre Medienkompetenz stärken. Dabei brauchen die Eltern medienpädagogische Unterstützung in Kindergarten und Schule.

spektrum

Christian Büttner

Abhängigkeit und Autonomie

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Zur Entwicklung des Kindheitsbegriffs in Deutschland und Frankreich

In den europäischen Staaten herrschen sehr unterschiedliche Vorstellungen über den Status des Kindes in Kindergarten und Schule. Während eines Deutsch-Französischen Begegnungsprogramms diskutierten Pädagoginnen und Pädagogen das Thema »Abhängigkeit und Autonomie«. Der Autor berichtet von diesen Diskussionen über die historische Entwicklung des Begriffs »Kindheit« und den jeweiligen soziokulturellen Hintergrund in Deutschland und Frankreich.

Suzann-Viola Renninger

Genetik und Umwelt:

Alte Kontroversen, neuer Kompromiß?

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Die Frage, ob die Gene oder die Umwelt für die Entwicklung der Persönlichkeit entscheidend sind, wurde

unser gesamtes Jahrhundert hindurch kontrovers diskutiert. Erst seit wenigen Jahren setzen sich Ansätze durch, die – frei von den alten ideologischen Vorbehalten – beide Einflußfaktoren gleichermaßen berücksichtigen. Doch die Kompromißformel, nach der die Gene und die Umwelt zu je 50 Prozent auf die Persönlichkeit einwirken, hat auch ihre Schwächen.

Robert W. Connell

Understanding Masculinities and Change

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Nicht immer, aber immer öfter sollte das Thema Männlichkeit auf den Tisch kommen, fordert der Autor, und zwar in der gesamten Erziehungsarbeit, vor allem in der Schule. Neue sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen über Männlichkeit zeigen vielfältige Möglichkeiten auf, wie Männer ihr geschlechtstypisches Verhalten ändern und Jungen von vornherein andere Vorstellungen von Männlichkeit entwickeln können.

forschungstrends

Karl E. Bergmann / Panagiotis Kamtsiuris / Bärbel-Maria Bellach

Zur Gesundheit der jungen Generation

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Wissensbedarf am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts

Die meisten in Deutschland vorliegenden empirischen Daten zum gesundheitlichen Zustand der unter 18jährigen können nur der groben Orientierung dienen, weil sie nicht repräsentativ sind. Sie weisen aber auf gravierende, oft vermeidbare Gesundheits- und Verhaltensprobleme hin. Um zuverlässige Informationen über die Gesundheitslage der Jugend zu bekommen, schlägt das Robert Koch-Institut einen umfassenden Survey vor, dessen neuartiges Konzept hier vorgestellt wird.

Udo Kelle

Standards für die Umfrageforschung

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Zur Denkschrift der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft

Die Geldnot der Auftraggeber zwingt die Meinungsforschungsinstitute zu »schlanken Verfahrensmodellen«, deren methodische Folgen außer acht bleiben. Da die Mängel »billiger« Umfragen den Ruf der empirischen Sozialforschung insgesamt beschädigen, fordert nun eine Gruppe sozialwissenschaftlicher Methodiker die Einhaltung von Minimalstandards. Bei der präzisen Definition der wissenschaftlichen Ansprüche haben sie allerdings Schwierigkeiten.

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Understanding Masculinities and Change

Professor Dr. Robert W. Connell, born 1944, BA History/Psychology 1965, PhD Political Sciences 1969. Since 1996 Professor of Educational Sciences, University of Sydney. He is co-editor of the scientific journals »Theory and Society«, »Gender and Society« and »Journal of Gender Studies« and has written a number of books and articles about masculinity and gender strategies, the most recent of which are: Teaching the boys: New research on masculinity and gender strategies for schools. Teachers College Record (USA), vo. 98 no.2, 1996, p. 206-235; Männer in der Welt: Männlichkeiten und Globalisierung. Widersprüche, no. 67, 1998, p. 91-105; Der gemachte Mann. Opladen 1999

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Als Langzeitfolge des neuen Feminismus hat sich in den letzten Jahren weltweit ein Diskurs über Männer, Jungen und verschiedene Formen von Männlichkeit entwickelt, in dem ein breites Spektrum von Fragen – vom Gesundheitszustand der Männer bis zur Erziehung von Jungen – angesprochen wird. In Bezug auf die Geschlechter ist der Status quo für Männer als Gruppe von Vorteil; doch einzelne Männer und Männergruppen sind an einer demokratischen Veränderung der Beziehungen zwischen den Geschlechtern interessiert. Aus der aktiven Entwicklung einer neuen sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung über die Männlichkeit ergeben sich neue und komplexere Vorstellungsbilder von Geschlecht. Diese Forschung zeigt sehr deutlich das Veränderungspotential im geschlechtsspezifischen Verhalten von Männern und Jungen. Wenn auch nicht als einfache Sozialisationsinstanz, ist die Schule ein wichtiger Ort für die Herausbildung verschiedener Formen von Männlichkeit. In die schulische Arbeit zur Gleichstellung der Geschlechter wurden nunmehr auch die Männlichkeit betreffende Fragen einbezogen, jedoch nicht immer in Form von Programmen für Jungen. Werden solche Programme durchgeführt, müssen sie die Pluralität und die den Formen der Männlichkeit eigene Komplexität sowie die Machtdimension in den Geschlechterbeziehungen berücksichtigen. Ist dies gewährleistet, kann die Beschäftigung mit der Männlichkeit ein wichtiges Neuland in der Erziehung darstellen.

Questions about men and boys

In recent years, questions about men, boys and masculinity have aroused public interest in many parts of the world (Connell 1998). In the United States there are several »Men's Movements« offering rival agendas of change. In Australia there have been heated public debates about men's health, men's violence and boys' education. In Germany debate is developing on a number of issues, for instance a survey of men's attitudes to religion attracting media attention.

Scandinavian countries have pioneered social policies on fatherhood, such as the »Dad's Month« of paid leave for fathers to take care of new babies. Scandinavia has recently appointed a co-ordinator for men's studies, the first inter-governmental position in the world designed to promote research on men. A recent international conference in Chile examined masculinities in Latin America and the Caribbean, and drew researchers and activists from as far apart as Brazil and Nicaragua.

Japan also has seen debates on men and masculinity, and has a recently founded »Men's Centre«, which publishes papers and books exploring new patterns of masculinity and family life. In Africa, the *Journal of Southern African Studies* has just published a special issue of papers on men and masculinities under apartheid and in the transition to democracy. The South African feminist journal *Agenda* has just published an issue on changing masculinities and new directions for men.

Concern with questions about masculinity has not just spread geographically, it has also spread across a wide range of topics. In relation to health, for instance, it is now being noticed that men's gender is relevant to diet, heart disease, industrial accidents, and sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS. Educators are discussing not just differences between boys and girls, but the practical detail of how to teach boys in the light of gender issues.

This upsurge of concern has a specific point of origin: feminism. Though the concerns of feminism are often supposed to be confined to women's lives, the questions raised by feminism are not just »women's issues«.

They are also questions *about men*.

Most men in modern societies, whatever their opinion of feminism, know that they are under challenge, know that gender relations are changing, and know that they have to come to terms with these changes. On a whole range of issues, from economic inequality to education to domestic violence to child care, it has become steadily more difficult for men to pretend that this is not their business. It is, and they know it. So it is just in this period of history that »men's movements« have appeared, with agendas for reform of men's gender practices. (For an excellent introduction to these movements see Messner 1998.)

There are, of course, many reasons why men, as the more privileged group, might resist change in our society's gender arrangements. But there are also reasons why other men might be willing to change their gender practices:

- the interests men have in the well-being of the women in their lives - wives, lovers, daughters, mothers, sisters, workmates, friends;
- the costs to men of maintaining a system of oppression and inequality - including homophobic violence, narrowed emotional life, and evasion of the truth;
- the direct costs of maintaining patterns of hegemonic masculinity - competition, violence and warfare, road and industrial accidents, stress, a variety of health costs, environmental destruction;
- loss of many pleasures and important human experiences, denied to most men by the patriarchal system
- including caring for babies and young children, nurturing others, and freely expressing emotions.

But of course all these motives for change have to wrestle with the benefits that men in general derive from the current gender system - economic advantage, authority, career openings, prestige, decision-making power, and so on. Consequently there is no mass movement of men for gender reform. But there are many, many possibilities of change.

Studying men and masculinities

In recent years there has been a surge of research based on a recognition that »masculinity« is not a fixed characteristic of men, but is socially created and changes through history. (For an introduction to this research and its history see Connell 1999.)

This recognition first crystallized in a social-psychological idea, the concept of a »male sex role«. The »role« concept, as a way of understanding gender issues, emphasises the learning of norms for conduct, what people are socially expected to do. This approach has been popular in applied areas like education and health, because it gives a strategy for how to change people: first change the expectations. But sex role theory is inadequate for understanding diversity in masculinities, and for understanding the power and economic dimensions in gender. Accordingly, recent research on men and masculinities has moved beyond the »sex role« approach.

We now have a library of studies in sociology, anthropology, history and cultural studies, in which researchers have traced the construction of masculinity in a particular setting. Examples include: a body-building gym, a workshop, a street gang, a clergyman's family, a school, a genre of film, a Green movement, a professional athlete's life, a police station, a media debate.

Though each study is different, there are many common themes. The main findings of this research can be summarized in seven points:

1. *Multiple masculinities.* Different cultures, and different periods of history, create different gender systems - and therefore different patterns of masculinity. In multicultural societies there are certain to be multiple definitions of masculinity. Equally important, more than one kind of masculinity can be found within a single culture. Multiple masculinities can even be found within a single institution, such as a school or workplace.

2. *Hierarchy and hegemony.* Different masculinities do not just sit side by side, as alternative lifestyles. Rather, they exist in definite relations with each other, often relations of hierarchy and exclusion. In a given culture or institution, there is generally a dominant or »hegemonic« form of masculinity. This is the centre of the local system of gendered power. In modern capitalist societies it is likely to be found in the most powerful institutions - big corporations, the upper levels of the state, and big media and media-driven sport.

It is very important to notice, however, that the hegemonic form need not be the most common form of masculinity. Many men do not inhabit this form of masculinity - though all men are affected by it and have to work out their relationship with it.

3. *Collective masculinities.* Masculinities are enacted not only by individuals, but also by groups and institutions - ranging from street gangs to armies and cor-

porations. Masculinities are created and sustained in our shared culture - some of the most powerful images of masculinity, for instance, are found in films, television and video games. Here too we may find multiple masculinities, though there is often severe stereotyping of gender in mass media.

4. *Bodies as arenas.* Men's bodies do not fix patterns of masculinity, but they are still very important in the expression of masculinity. The way we practice gender in everyday life constantly involves bodily experience, bodily pleasures, and the vulnerabilities of bodies. Examples range from sport to sex, to the attention given to dress and deportment in middle-class working life.

5. *Active construction.* Masculinities do not exist prior to social interaction. Rather, they come into existence as people act. Gender is about what we do, more than what we are. Masculinities are actively produced, using the resources available in a given milieu. Since these resources differ a great deal - between people of different generations, different class situations, etc - the strategies different people follow are also likely to differ.

6. *Division.* Masculinities are not homogeneous, all of a piece. They are likely to be internally divided, sometimes quite contradictory. Men's lives often embody tensions between contradictory desires or practices. This is perhaps most familiar in sexuality, but is found in other areas of life too. An important example is the tension between career hopes and job demands, on the one hand, and between family ties, love, and the desire for emotional security, on the other.

7. *Dynamics.* Being actively constructed, and often in tension, masculinities are liable to change. Masculinities are created in specific historical circumstances. They can be contested, reconstructed, or displaced. We can see this in historical research, which traces large-scale changes in images and rhetorics of masculinity; we can also see it in individual life-histories, as particular men and women shift their strategies, relationships, or goals in life.

Some educational implications

Much of the debate about changing masculinity is educational, above all. It concerns attempts to increase knowledge, to expand understanding, to create new capacities for practice.

Indeed it is in education that we have some of the best chances to prefigure new ways of being men and boys. I will end, therefore, with some remarks on the problems of educational strategies. This draws on a longer paper, in which I discuss inter alia the making of masculinities within the institutional structures of schools (Connell 1996).

»Gender« in discussions of schools has mainly signalled issues about girls. The recent debate marks an

important recognition that boys are gendered too. The commonest error is to assume that a strategy formulated for one situation must work for the other. Given the patriarchal dividend, which gives boys an interest in claiming the gender privilege open to them, a simple translation will not generally work.

Educational responses to issues about boys must have two sides. They must be concerned with the impact of the advantaged group's actions on the less advantaged group. (Thus, the issue of harassment of girls is rightly a major concern of programs concerned with boys.)

They must also be concerned with the costs paid for the advantage. (Thus, the impact of harassment on boys, in the form of bullying among boys, and poisoned relationships with girls, is also a major concern.) The long-term costs to boys and men, though often hard to assess, may well be more important than the short-term. These include the devaluation of emotions and expressiveness which turns many boys away from the study of literature, language and culture.

Recent discussions of educational strategies for boys have rightly pointed to the negative impact on boys of narrow models of masculinity and obsolete ideas about men's and women's work (Gilbert and Gilbert 1998, Lingard and Douglas 1999). Such stereotypes, if adopted by the boys, severely limit their cultural experiences, their vocational choices, and their expectations about future personal relationships, both with men and with women.

These issues go beyond equity policy in the narrow sense to broad curriculum objectives. Educational policy about boys must concern the range of their experiences, and their understanding of life options. Maximizing the range of pupils' knowledge; eliminating barriers to their awareness, interest and tolerance; and widening the range of their own life choices, are general educational goals which have specific applications in the education of boys.

These goals cannot be pursued without making gender itself an object of enquiry and learning. This has been an important trend in education for girls and women, both in »mainstream« curriculum areas and in the growth of new fields such as Women's Studies. Recent research on masculinity, as I have shown above, has produced a body of knowledge which makes it easier than before to develop curriculum about gender that is gender-inclusive, and plainly relevant to boys.

This may require programs with a different structure from those most familiar in gender equity work. Gender equity work, at least in English-speaking countries, has emphasised gender-specific programs addressed to girls. The first generation of school-level programs concerned with boys has followed this logic, producing programs specifically for boys.

Youth work in Germany has made an important distinction between »gender-specific« and »gender-relevant« programs. Both in welfare and in curriculum, schools may now have a need for more of the gender-relevant type of programs. These take gender relations as the object of enquiry, discussion and learning; and they may be addressed to boys and girls together as well

as separately.

Not all education occurs in schools, of course. Some of the most impressive recent anti-sexist work is educational work in difficult circumstances, such as prisons, and around difficult issues, such as violence. As Denborough (1996) explains the approach, it is possible to find respectful ways of working with young men without shying away from the hard issues of men's violence.

Denborough draws on the new masculinity research to develop the strategy, encouraging young men not only to recognize the main narrative of masculinity in their community, but also to search for the counter-narratives, the other possibilities that exist in the same situation. A search for counter-meanings also appears in Sabo's work in an American prison. Sabo (1994) notes how sport and physical training at one level plays into the cultivation of masculine hardness, at another represents a kind of self-care in a hostile and very unhealthy environment.

Educational work on masculinity is not likely to be easy. People in this field are already aware of a number of problems: resistance by boys and men (including those who may be in most need of new programs), difficulties in defining purposes, scepticism from staff, ethical problems in relation to girls' programs, and shortages of materials and research. Nevertheless, the expansion of young people's knowledge, and capacity for choice and action, about an important area of their current and future lives, is a coherent and important educational goal. It is an issue where the agenda of justice in gender relations is linked to widely shared social purposes and has immediate practical possibilities.

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